WOMEN, WORK, AND MARKETS OF THE '80s

DECEMBER 1979

NEWSPAPER ADVERTISING BUREAU PROJECT

This study is one of a series of marketing research reports prepared by the Newspaper Advertising Bureau, Inc., as a service to the newspaper industry and its advertisers. These reports form the basis of recommendations for the efficient use of the newspaper medium to meet the specific marketing needs of individual companies.

HIGHLIGHTS

Importance of the Study

- The two nationwide surveys cover the decade of dramatic change for women: 1971 to 1979.

- A wide variety of topics were covered, including women's newspaper reading and other media habits, attitudes and values, work patterns, attitudes toward advertising, and consumer behavior.

Work Patterns

- During the interval between surveys, working women become the majority among women.

- Work is a serious and core value for working women, not a passing fad or a temporary effort just to supplement family income.

- More women at home expect to be employed in the future.

- 83% of nonworking women with a child under 6 years old may work in the future.

Changing Viewpoints and Life-style

- Women, especially working women, increasingly want equal job opportunities and free day-care centers for children.

- About a quarter of women oppose organized efforts to strengthen women's rights.

- While both "a working woman" and a "full-time housewife" were positively evaluated in 1971, this positive image has survived the past 8 years only for "a working woman."

- Both working and nonworking women are becoming more disenchanted with housework, but working women dislike it more.

- Married women still have most of the family food-related responsibilities, but working women get a little more help from spouses.

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- There has been a decrease in the percent of women who feel that working women don't spend enough time with their children, but there still is a large gap between working and nonworking women's views.

- Most women, working and nonworking, agree that it is possible for working mothers to establish a good relation with their children.

- Child care represents a major prblem for working mothers, and demand for free day-care centers can be expected to heighten.

- Working women have more active lifestyles than nonworking women.

Consumer Patterns

- Working women shop for clothes more often than nonworking women, and the gap between the two has widened since 1971.

- Clothes shopping is mostly a go-to-the-store activity, but working women have slightly increased their shopping by mail and telephone over the last 8 years.

- Both working and nonworking women increasingly shop for clothes at particular times of the day.

- Working women are shopping more in the evening and nonworking women are doing more shopping in the mornings and afternoon.

- Department stores and specialty shops are the most popular places for dress purchases, but working women appear to be going to specialty shops less often and to discount stores more often than they did in 1971.

- A majority of white collar working women have work in mind when they shop for clothes, but there has been a decline in the percent of women who say they are expected to dress well at work.

- In 1971, nonworking women were a little more likely to spend more for groceries, but by 1979, working women tended to spend more.

- The majority of working women food shop in the late afternoon and evening, whereas nonworking women shop in the morning and early afternoon, a pattern that has changed little since 1971.

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- Women are increasingly systematic about food shopping and checking food ads is increasingly important for working and nonworking women.

- For those who check ads, newspaper ads are overwhelmingly the most important source.

- Employed women, especially white collar workers, use more beauty and health products than women who are not employed.

- Employed women are more likely to own life insurance than homemakers.

- Female white collar workers are more likely than other employed or homemakers to own securities, to use financial services, and to have a checking account in a commercial bank.

Women and Advertisements

- Substantial percentages of women, especially working women, feel advertisements portray women in a negative way, but newspaper ads are seen as much less offensive than TV commercials.

- Three-quarters of women with at least some college say TV ads present women as they should not be; only 43% of this group feel so negative about newspaper ads.

Newspaper and Other Media Habits

- Working women are more frequent newspaper readers than nonworking women.

- The greatest differences in newspaper readership between working and nonworking women occur among those women who have traditionally been infrequent readers.

- Newspaper articles are thought to present women more credibly than TV shows.

- There are many reasons for reading newspapers, but of those listed, "reading for its own sake" is the most important for working and nonworking.

- Newspapers are very important in fending off feelings of isolation among women at home who are sensitive to sex discrimination.

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- Newspapers are seen as a bisexual medium, but working women are more likely than nonworking women to see newspapers as having more in it for "women like myself."

- Almost all women think the writing style in newspapers is about right.

- Nonworking women are more interested than working women in local news.

- Working and nonworking women are more similar than dissimilar in newspaper content interest, but working women generally want more of everything than nonworking women.

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FOREWORD

Women have always been an important market, but the last decade has seen changes among women that will have increasingly significant implications for marketing and advertising people. Not only do more women have more money and decision-making power, their lifestyles are changing -- and not changing in some important ways - in a kaleidoscopic manner.

Because women are undergoing major shifts in what they expect of themselves and from society, it is crucial that people interested in selling to women closely watch the unfolding changes taking place. It is the purpose of this research report to provide information that will help marketing and advertising people better understand what the 1970's brought in terms of women's attitudes, values, and lifestyles; their consumer behavior, what they think of advertising, and their views of newspaper and other media. The unique combination of foci of this study and the rare opportunity in survey research to compare nationwide samples over an 8 - year time span, provide a perspective that should go a long way toward better planning for this important market.

Finally, the report uses the terms "working" and "nonworking" women, only to differentiate those in the labor force from full-time homemakers, students or retired persons.

INTRODUCTION

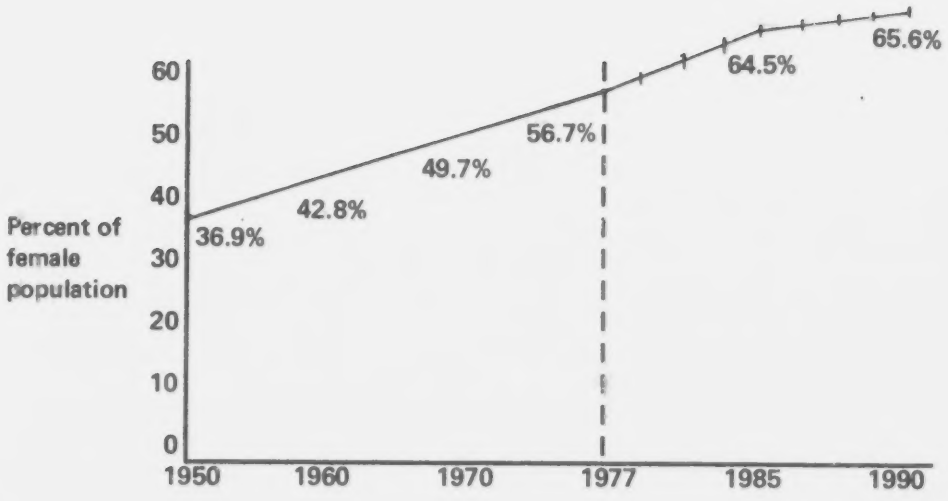
The changes that have been occurring among women have been called a quiet revolution by Rena Bartos (1978). Quiet it may be, but labor economist Eli Ginzberg says it is a revolution of major consequence. Ginzberg says, "changes underway in the role of women in the world represent a revolution that will have more impact for modern societies than the rise of communism or the harnessing of nuclear power."

The changes appear to be affecting every major institution, and the newspaper will not be an exception. Women's media habits are being altered, marketing behavior is changing, what they expect from advertisements is undergoing changes, and women's employment opportunities in the newspaper industry are likely to be of increasing concern.

Few would deny that changes are taking place among women, but exactly how are they changing and what are some of the consequences of this quiet revolution? The first thing that comes to mind is, of course, women's accelerated movement into the labor force and up the occupational ladder. Chart 1 shows that during the 1970's the description of the typical American woman changed from that of a housewife to that of a working woman. While the percent of women who participated in the labor force has steadily climbed since 1950, when 37 percent were counted among the employed, it was during the 1970's that a majority of women of working age became working women.

Chart 1

Female participation in the labor force
in the United States
Ages 18-64



Source: Guide to Consumer Markets

Present estimates are that in the late 1980's, the proportion of women who are employed will approach the two-thirds mark.

If we look at educational trends and how greater education relates to employment, we begin to see why this employment trend can be expected to continue. In 1948 women made up 29 percent of the total students on college campuses. By 1958 the proportion increased to 35 percent and moved up to 40 percent in 1968. The biggest jump was during the late decade. In 1978, 49 percent of college students were women, and The Chronicle of Higher Education recently reported that women college students accounted for 93 percent of the enrollment gain in 1978.

Table 1 tells the story of what this greater education means for women's employment. In the 1971 and 1979 surveys, education and employment are closely related. The greater the education, the greater the likelihood of women being employed. The greatest change in the contribution of education to employment has occurred among college level women.

Table 1. Education and Employment Status Among Women

Education:	Employment Status					
	1971			1979		
	Employed	Not Employed	(Base)	Employed	Not Employed	(Base)
Less than H.S. Graduate	29%	71	(323)	29%	71	(275)
H.S. Graduate	47%	53	(385)	53%	47	(410)
Some College or More	53%	47	(283)	62%	38	(350)

Other demographic changes that reflect changes in women's roles have also been taking place. The description of the typical family unit was (and still thought to be by many people) a husband who works to provide for a wife who is at home caring for two children. That description now applies to only 7 percent of American households (American Demographics, 1978). This is the result of several recent changes. For one thing, young women are increasingly likely to be single (Lazer & Smallwood, 1977). In 1950, 28 percent of women 20-24 year old were single. By 1975, 40 percent of young adult women in the 20-24 age category were single.

Even though the young and single women are clearly job oriented, much of the change in women's workforce participation comes from married women and married women with children. In 1975, for example, over half of all married women with school-age children held jobs outside the home (Lazer & Smallwood, 1977).

The changes for women have not just been demographic. The way women view themselves and their place in society has undergone a metamorphosis. These changes have accelerated since the mid-1960's. One study, for example, reports that in 1967, 60 percent of a national sample of adult women agreed with the statement: "a woman's place is in the home." By 1975 only 26 percent agreed (Reynolds, Crask, and Wells, 1977). This study also reports that while the preference for the "traditional" woman's role increases with age, it was not until ages 55 and older that more women

preferred the "traditional" role than the "modern" woman's role (a marriage where husband and wife share responsibilities more - - or both work, share homemaking and child responsibilities). In another 1975 study, only 32 percent of all women preferred the traditional outlook (Bryant, 1977).

These differences can be seen in a Pittsburgh area study (Krause, 1978) of families with a grandmother, mother, and daughter (all adults). As would be expected, traditional notions, to the effect that a woman's proper place is that of wife and mother, were expressed by 83 percent of the grandmothers, 44 percent of the mothers and 17 percent of the daughters.

A series of national surveys sponsored by Virginia Slims also reveal some of the changes taking place among American women (The Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll, 1974). In 1974, a majority of women (57%) favored efforts to strengthen women's positions in society, an increase of 17 percent since 1971. In 1970 about two-thirds felt that single women should be able to enjoy the same freedom as single men. By 1978, 64 percent supported efforts to strengthen women's status (Public Opinion, 1979).

In the early 1970's the Newspaper Advertising Bureau anticipated the importance of what was beginning to happen among women, and carried out a baseline national study against which to track some of the details of women's changing outlook and behavior and how these changes are related

to newspaper reading. Our new 1979 study, which repeated many of the questions in our 1971 study, gives us the most recent data for tracking the decade in which the greatest changes among women have taken place. Before going into those detailed findings, we will pause to describe the methodological procedures of those studies.

Study Procedures

Because we wanted to exploit the rare opportunity of having comparable surveys done at two points in time, one in 1971 and another in 1979, we followed the methodological procedures of the 1971 baseline study in the 1979 study.

Both surveys were nationwide samples (1,000 in 1971 and 1,041 in 1979) of adult women. Working women were overdrawn, but by sample weighting procedures we can compare the total samples as if they represent a random sample of all adult women. The selection of households and individual respondents within households was done by random sampling procedures.

The Response Analysis Corporation of Princeton, New Jersey, the data collection contractor for both surveys, then sent their interviewers into the sampling locations to personally interview the randomly selected respondents. The average interview, using a structured questionnaire, took about 45 minutes. Since the questionnaire included a question on "yesterday" newspaper reading to measure daily newspaper reading, all interviewing was done Tuesdays through Saturdays.

The substantive difference between the two surveys was primarily a matter of emphasis. In the 1971 survey, a greater share of questions was given to marketing behavior. In the 1979 study, the emphasis was on media habits and social attitudes of women. However, approximately 75 percent of the 1979 survey was a replication of the questions asked in 1971.

I. WOMEN'S CHANGING WORK PATTERNS

How much change has taken place in women's work activities and attitudes in the past eight years? Is work an enduring and important part of women's lives? If so, what is important to working women? How have nonworking women been affected by this surge in women's participation in the labor force? These are the major questions that we will try to answer in this part of the report.

There are some who might assume that these are trivial issues because they doubt that women's work activities are serious business for women. They believe that this is something of a fad among women that is likely to drop off or at best persist as a secondary pursuit. On the other hand, some women charge that to persist in questioning the seriousness of women's work motivations reflects a sexist attitudes since men's work motivation is not an important issue.

Certainly there are working women who continue to see employment outside of the home as a secondary concern. However, the significance of work for the majority of women is becoming increasingly apparent. Women seriously pursue work outside the home for basically the same reasons that men do. And since this is a relatively new phenomenon, it is important to examine the new facts and their implications.

Women Mean Serious Business

Our data strongly indicate that women are pursuing work outside of the home as a serious concern that is motivated not by negative reasons but the positive attractions of employment. We can begin to see in Table 2 that work as a part of nearly every woman's life is now a reality. In 1971, 12 percent of all the women said they had never worked. By 1979 only 3 percent reported they never have worked. It is also apparent that women's work tenure has increased over this period of time. The plurality (42%) of women in 1979 have worked more than 10 years.

Table 2. Number of Years Worked

	1971 All Women	1979 All Women
Have never worked	12%	3%
Worked 5 years or less	38	30
Worked 6 to 10 years	16	23
Worked more than 10 years	33	42
(Base)	(1000)	(1041)

The most common work pattern reported in 1979 was to have worked ever since leaving school (Table 3). In 1971, the plurality (45%) of working women reported a worked-stopped-worked again pattern. One-third in 1971 had worked all the time since leaving school. Actually, differences between 1971 and 1979 would be even sharper if age and education differences were considered. Since 1971, the typical working woman has become younger and better educated, so the number of years she has worked would be affected by these factors.

Age and education differences between working and nonworking women in 1979 are also important to keep in mind throughout this report. Working women are markedly younger and better educated than nonworking women, so many of the attitudinal and behavioral differences between them will re-reflect these facts.

Table 3. Work History Since Leaving School

	1971 All Working Women	1979 All Working Women
Have worked all of the time	33%	42%
Worked--stopped--working again	45	40
Didn't work at first--working now	18	13
Other patterns*	4	5
(Base)	(661)	(736)

*Still a full-time student, employed but haven't started yet.

Furthermore, these working women consider work a permanent feature in their lives. As Table 4 shows, 84 percent in 1979, up from 72 percent in 1971, expect to be working in the future.

Table 4. Expectations of Continuing Work

	1971 All Working Women	1979 All Working Women
Two years from now:		
Will still be working	72%	84%
Probably will be working, but not sure	19	11
No, will not be working	9	5
(Base)	(661)	(736)

Question: As far as you know, do you think you will be working two years from now or not?

This trend toward greater work force participation in the future is not just characteristic of working women. As Table 5 shows, among nonworking women who have worked in the past, 47 percent in 1979 say they may work in the future. This is again a sizeable jump from the 32 percent in 1971.

Table 5. Future Work Expectations

	1971 Nonworking Women	1979 Nonworking Women	1979 Nonworking Women with Child under 6
May work in future (Net)	32%	47%	83%
Definitely will work	16%	17%	36%
Might go to work but not sure	16	30	47
Will not go to work	58	48	13
Don't know, no answer	10	5	4
(Base)	(339)	(255)	(70)

Question: How likely is it that you will ever work in the future?

While children are the primary reason working women leave the work scene, as we see in Table 5, it is precisely those nonworking women who have children under 6 years old that overwhelmingly expect to be working in the future. Young children may halt women's working for a while, but it is clear here that the work stoppage is temporary.

Before we undertook our national survey in 1979, we did a small pilot study of New York area women in order to get a qualitative grasp of the issues. One 34 year old divorced mother illustrates the shift in the centrality of work outside the home as she contrasted her views of jobs when she was married and now:

> Once I was married, I very clearly felt that my husband came first and I never accepted jobs that basically interfered with the time period of my marriage, and the demands of that relationship. I think if I were to marry again, some of that would change. I think that working is a more integral part of satisfaction and expectations than it was before.

A 30 year old book publishing editor continues the theme:

> I can't imagine not working, even if I have children.

Work Motivations

The serious and positive manner in which women are increasingly approaching work is also reflected in their motivations (other than money) for working. Table 6 presents some nonmonetary reasons women work or consider work. By far, the most often mentioned reason in 1971 and 1979 was getting out to meet new people. Next came the desire to do something worthwhile, to learn new things, and to be independent. Using special training is also an important reason for working.

It should be noted that all of these are positive work motivations, and they have intensified for working women over the 8 year period between the two studies. The negative reasons (mostly the confining nature of homebound life) were far less important as "pushes" that get these women out of the house and into the work world. For "homebound" women who might work in the future, the positive reasons for working prevail. During the 8 years, women who might work gave fewer negative reasons for wanting to work. However, boredom with housework persisted as an important negative reason for considering work.

Money is, of course, an important reason for working. But it is difficult to isolate the strictly monetary reasons for working, since money has symbolic meanings (such as a measure of achievements) as well as practical consequences.

Table 6. Nonmonetary Reasons for Working or Considering Work

	1971		1979	
	Working Women	Nonworking Who Might Work	Working Women	Nonworking Who Might Work
Like to get out and meet new people	57%	54%	60%	43%
Want to do something worthwhile	35%	39%	41%	38%
Like to learn new things	35%	39%	41%	39%
Want to be independent	36%	34%	45%	31%
I have special training I want to use	25%	29%	28%	11%
Restless, don't have enough to do	21%	34%	18%	18%
Bored with housework	16%	22%	17%	23%
Too lonely at home	14%	17%	11%	4%
Feel taken for granted	5%	6%	5%	1%
None of these reasons	10%	6%	8%	5%
(Base)	(661)	(121)	(736)	(127)

Question: Please look at this card and tell me your main reasons for working at the present time (for thinking you might go to work).

Also, in a culture that still values the homemaker role, many women are likely to publicly emphasize monetary reasons (to supplement family finances, for example) although nonmonetary motivations may be just as important, if not more important to them.

A middle aged mother of three children described with great emotion in our pilot study interview the experience of receiving her first paycheck from her first job in fifteen years:

> We live in a society that rewards the money-maker, and I feel that I go along with it. I say, all right, if the only worthwhile people are the ones earning money, then in order to be a worthwhile person, I've got to earn money. I don't like such a system of values, but these are the rules of our society. Then when I got that first paycheck, I did feel good. I also felt that I could hold up my head at home. I felt that I didn't have to feel guilty anymore about my husband paying all this money for my mother. Even eliminating that, I still would have felt better.

Despite these complex motivations, however, we found that the percentage of women who say that they are working or considering work because they need money has declined since 1971 (Table 7).

Table 7. Work Because Need Money

	Working Women		Nonworking Women Who Might Work	
	1971	1979	1971	1979
Have to work	45%	39%	37%	24%
(Base)	(661)	(736)	(121)	(242)

Question: Now I would like to ask about your reasons for working. First, please look at this card and tell me which one of these statements best describes your reason for wanting or needing the income from your job.

In 1971, 45 percent of the working women said they had to work because they needed money. This percentage dropped to 39 percent in 1979.

We also posed an hypothetical situation to our samples of working women. We asked: "Suppose that without working you can receive just as much money as your job pays you. Would you go on working or not?" About three-fifths (Table 8) now say they would go on working, essentially the same as in 1971.

Table 8. Interest in Continuing Work

	1971	1979
	Working Women	Working Women
Would go on working	59%	61%
Would stop working	36	32
Don't know	5	7
(Base)	(661)	(736)

Question: Suppose that without working you could receive just as much money as your job pays you. Would you go on working or not?

Women are serious about their work, and despite the necessity of earning money or the culturally prescribed necessity of publicly talking about monetary motivations, the expanded world that work offers women is a vital incentive for their vigorous movement into the labor force. Table 9 supports this conclusion; it also supports our earlier claim that saying one has to work to earn money masks powerful nonmonetary reasons. The majority of working women, both those who say they have to work and those who say they don't have to work, would go on working even though they could receive the same amount of money their job offers without working.

Table 9. Interest in Continuing Work
(Working Women by Need for Money)

If same money were provided without working:	1971 Have to work	1971 Don't have to work	1979 Have to work	1979 Don't have to work
Would go on working	55%	63%	62%	64%
Would stop working	42	31	33	28
Don't Know	3	6	5	8
(Base)	(286)	(296)	(272)	(358)

In 1971, 55 percent of the women who said they had to work said that they would go on working if the same money was available without work. This is substantially less than the comparable proportion reported by those who said they did not have to work. This gap has been closed by 1979, so that "having to work" versus "not having to work" has virtually nothing to do with the willingness to recognize nonmonetary rewards of work.

Now, of course, working women are not a monolithic group in terms of work as a core value of their lives. Highly trained professional and managerial women consider their work career to be more central to their lives than unskilled laborers, and these differences among working women are important. Nevertheless, a majority of manual workers would go on working if the same money were available without working (Table 10). Two-thirds of the professional/managerial laborers would go on working. Clearly then, work as a serious and persisting force in women's lives has taken hold and is very likely to continue to be so in the future.

Table 10. Nonmonetary Work Motivations by Occupation, 1979

If the same money were available without working:	Respondent's Occupation		
	Professional/ Manager	Clerical/ Sales	Manual
Would go on working	66%	62%	57%
Would stop working	28	29	37
Don't know/NA	6	9	6
(Base)	(166)	(250)	(306)

Employment at the present time is so highly attractive to women that it is difficult to find many women who dislike their jobs. A national study of working women by The National Commission on Working Women (1979) reported that 14 percent disliked their jobs somewhat and only 4 percent reported a great dislike.

This quiet revolution will have an impact on institutions, human relationships, and the way women view themselves and the world around them. With this in mind, we now turn our attention to how women are looking at themselves, how their nonwork activities are changing, and how their roles in the family are affected.

II. WOMEN'S CHANGING VIEWPOINTS

Our earlier study in 1971 revealed some of the ways that women's attitudes were beginning to change. Now, with our new study, we can measure the extent of further changes during this decade of dramatic transition from woman's place as being essentially in the home to an expanded participation in the larger world outside of the narrow circle around the traditional woman's place. New questions in the latest survey offer an expanded view of women's attitudes.

Changing Views of Women-related Issues

But first, let's look back over the 1970's to see what has happened to women's views. Table 11 reports the results on women's approval of several key issues. The 1971-1979 comparison of all women shows that women have increasingly given support to free day-care centers and to equal job opportunities, even in those areas traditionally considered "men's work." About two-thirds of all women now approve of these issues, but working women give the strongest support.

On the other hand, support for legalized abortions seems to have suffered a slight decline between 1971 and 1979. However, it is the nonworking women who have been withdrawing support, from 35 percent approval in 1971 to 27 percent in 1979. Meanwhile, working women increased their support for legalized abortion from 41 percent in 1971 to 45 percent in 1979.

The greatest shift in support of these issues has been in the occupational area. Women increasingly want the same occupational opportunities as men (Table 11).

Table 11. Percentage Approving Women-related Proposals

	1971			1979		
	All Women	Working Women	Non-Working Women	All Women	Working Women	Non-Working Women
Opportunity to work at every kind of job, even if it is considered "men's work"	59%	61%	57%	69%	73%	65%
Free day care centers for children for all mothers	52%	53%	51%	61%	61%	60%
Legalized abortions	38%	41%	36%	36%	45%	27%
(Base)	(1000)	(661)	(339)	(1041)	(736)	(305)

They also want to be treated as well as men on the job. The percentage of working women who said employers treat women better than men has declined, while the percentage who feel that they are treated worse than men has substantially increased (Table 12). This may reflect a rising consciousness among women of work-related sex differences, rather than a deterioration of employers' actual treatment of women.

Table 12. Employers' Treatment of Women

	Working Women	
	1971	1979
Women are treated:		
Better than men	15%	7%
Exactly the same as men	51%	50%
Worse than men	20%	32%
No opinion, no answer	14%	11%
(Base)	(661)	(736)

Question: In general, do you think employers treat working women better than men, exactly the same as men, or worse than men?

If jobs are important to women and their attitudes have changed so that they now expect more equitable job opportunities and treatment on the job, does this mean that the majority of women consider their careers of equal importance to their husbands'? The answer, as presented in the results of Table 13, is "no". The majority (54%) of women in 1979 agreed that it was more important for a wife to help her husband than to have a career of her own. However, if a woman is actually employed, her attitude

Table 13. Importance of Husband's Career, 1979

	% Agreeing		
	All Women	Working Women	Nonworking Women
It is more important for a wife to help her husband than to have a career herself	54%	44%	64%
	(1041)	(736)	(305)

is likely to be quite different from a woman who does not work. Less than a majority (44%) of working women agreed that their career took second place to that of a husband's. Sixty-four percent of nonworking women agreed with the statement. Perhaps this reflects a tendency of the young, well-educated women who work to consider marriage and equal partnership.

Support of Women's Rights Organizations

While is yet another indication that working women take their careers seriously, these changing attitudes do not necessarily mean that they are ready to jump on the bandwagon of organizations whose purposes are to strengthen women's rights, as Table 14 indicates. Forty-one percent of all women favor organized attempts to strengthen

Table 14. Attitudes Toward Organized effort to Strengthen Women's Rights, 1979

	All Women	Working Women	Nonworking Women
Favor	41%	44%	37%
Neutral	20%	20%	20%
Oppose	23%	25%	22%
No opinion, no answer	16%	11%	21%
	(1041)	(736)	(305)

Question: There has been much talk recently about changing the position of women in society today. On the whole, do you favor or oppose most of the organized efforts to strengthen and change women's rights?

women's rights, and more (44%) working women than nonworking women favor this kind of organized effort. It is interesting to note, nonetheless, that a plurality (37%) of nonworking women too favor organized efforts to strengthen women's rights. Thus, the pressure to alter "woman's place" can be expected to come not just from the working woman but from a large proportion of women at home.

Even greater support for organized efforts to strengthen women's rights is due in the immediate future, if the results in Table 15 are any indication. Here we have considered age in relation to attitudes toward women's rights organizations. Half of the women under 35 years of age favor such efforts, while a little more than a third of older women favor women's rights organization. Yet, in all age groups, and especially in the oldest group, there are sizable percentages of women who are either neutral of unwilling to offer a judgement.

Table 15. Age and Attitudes Toward Organized Efforts to Strengthen Women's Rights, 1979

	Age		
	Under 35	35-49	50 and Over
Favor	50%	37%	34%
Neutral	18%	25%	18%
Oppose	19%	26%	27%
No opinion, no answer	13%	12%	21%
(Base)	(431)	(300)	(293)

Changing Images of Working Women and Housewives

Another way of gauging attitudinal changes among women is to examine the image women have of the typical working woman and full-time housewife. The changes between the 1971 and 1979 surveys are revealing. We gave our respondents a list of characteristics and asked them to indicate which words or phrases they would use to describe "a working woman" and which they would use to describe "a full-time housewife." In the 1979 study we added the characteristic, "self-reliant," since our pilot study indicated that this was an important difference to be expected.

As it turned out (see Table 16), "self-reliant" was the characteristic that was most frequently used to describe "a working woman."

Table 16. Images of "A Working Woman and "A Full-Time Housewife" As Self-Reliant, 1979

"Self-Reliant" Image of:	Reported By: Working Women	Plan to Work Women	Nonworking Women
"A Working Woman"	76%	83%	62%
"A Full-Time House-wife"	25%	36%	35%
(Base)	(736)	(44)	(305)

Question: This card lists some words or phrases that might be used to describe a woman. In general, which words or phrases do you think describe a working woman? Which words or phrases do you think describe a full-time housewife?

It was also the characteristic that best separated the image of "a working woman" from the image of "a full-time housewife" among all three groups of women: working women, women who planned to work but were not at the time working, and nonworking women. For example, 76 percent of working women said "a working woman" was self-reliant. A large percentage (62%) of the nonworking woman said working women were self-reliant. However, it was the plan-to-work women who were most likely to see working women as self-reliant (83%), somewhat over-glorifying the working woman. On the other hand, "a full-time housewife" was seen as self-reliant by a much smaller percentage of women, least of all by the working woman. These findings leave little room for doubt that working outside of the home means independence for women.

As two young, single women put it:

> Women are less willing to live vicariously.....
> Women are realizing that they can't depend
> on someone else's career and life to provide
> them with satisfaction on their own.

> Most every woman I know plans to get
> a college degree, perhaps a graduate
> degree, certainly to have some kind
> of job. Women my age don't want to
> be dependent.

While self-reliance was a critical characteristic in differentiating the images of working and nonworking women, other distinctions emerged. In Table 17, the four most frequently selected characteristics other than "self-reliant" are shown. Various comparisons can be made in Table 17, but let's first consider the image of "a working woman" in 1979 and 1971. (A complete data table is found in Appendix B).

Table 17. Four Most Frequently Mentioned Characteristics of "a Working Woman" and "a Full-time Housewife," 1971 and 1979

"A Working Woman"

1971		1979	
By Working Women	By Nonworking Women	By Working Women	By Nonworking Women
full life	full life	full life	full life
well organized	well organized	well organized	well organized
likes to shop for clothes	likes to shop for clothes	admired/respected	likes to shop for clothes
admired/respected	admired/respected	feminine	admired/respected

"A Full-Time Housewife"

1971		1979	
By Working Women	By Non-working Women	By Working Women	By Non-working Women
full life	full life	taken advantage of	full life
admired/respected	admired/respected	overworked	well organized
feminine	well organized	feminine	feminine
well organized	feminine	well organized	overworked

Question: This card lists some words or phrases that might be used to describe a woman. In general, which words or phrases do you think describe a _____?

Little has changed with respect to "a working woman's" image over the eight year period. She is seen in very positive terms both by working women themselves and by their at-home counterparts. There was complete agreement in 1971. The one difference in 1979 was that working women now see themselves as feminine, while nonworking women continue to see "a working woman" as someone who enjoys shopping for clothes. That working women now see themselves as feminine is a change that should not be minimized. It is a change that will be further supported by study results to be discussed later in this report. Not long ago, a popular notion was that women who took jobs

outside of the home were "trying to act like men" and would lose their feminine qualities. Certainly what is feminine or masculine is going through some redefinition, but what has survived, according to these study results, is that employment does not mean women are surrendering femininity for a place in "a man's world."

By contrast the image of "a full-time housewife" has deteriorated from one with positive qualities to an image, especially among working women, that is tarnished by the sense that she is being taken advantage of and overworked. Working women no longer see the full-time housewife as someone who has a full life and is admired. The image of the full-time housewife as someone who is admired and respected has even disappeared from the nonworking woman's list of most frequently mentioned characteristics. In 1971 and 1979 nonworking women said the characteristic that best describes a "full time housewife" was has a full life. "However, the absolute proportion doing so dropped from 64 percent in 1971 to 45 percent in 1979. This surely explains why in a relatively short period of time, many housewives feel looked down on and out of step with mainstream women.

These changing images suggest a certain amount of tension between working and nonworking women, but they also raise some questions about how working and nonworking women see and feel about their at-home activities, especially housework and child care. We will now turn out attention to some of these issues.

III. HOME, CHILDREN, AND ACTIVITIES

Traditionally, a woman's role was centered around home, children, and voluntary activities that were home and child related. Threading through these functions was the explicit expectation that her central concern was to "do for others," especially those in the family.

We might ask now, what impact have the changes among women in the 1970's had on these more traditional aspects of women's attitudes and activities? On child care? What impact does employment have on their leisure activities? On public activities?

Housework and Food

Two facts stand out. First, women have become much more negative in their attitude toward housework. Second, the responsibility for home-related chores still resides primarily with women.

Table 18 shows the results of our question regarding how often the respondents reported having negative feelings about housework. Certainly both working and nonworking women have become more negative about housework, but the nonworking are beginning to look very much like working women in their disdain for housework. For example, 40 percent of working women in 1971 "fairly often" felt that housework was boring. By 1979, 49 percent of the employed women were often bored by housework. More drastically, the proportion of nonworking women who reported being "fairly often" bored by housework rose from 27 percent in 1971 to 40 percent in 1979. Neither of these changes can be accounted for by the influx of young, well-educated women since 1971.

To illustrate this discontent with housework, one of our pilot study respondents who was a housewife and mother for fifteen years but later decided to carve out a new lifestyle says:

> I've become very time conscious because I'm in school, I always have deadlines, and it takes a lot of time to read and study and go to classes, and this makes me become conscious of the amount of time it takes to do household tasks. I begin to feel very disgusted because it might take an hour to clean the bathroom and I think, well, that's an hour I can spend studying. So, I find myself resenting the amount of time it takes to do things.

Table 18. Negative Feeling about Housework, 1971-1979

	Working Women		Nonworking Women	
	1971	1979	1971	1979
Fairly often feel housework is:				
Boring	40%	49%	27%	40%
Hectic	35	40	39	40
Exhausting	42	43	32	40
Ties me down	24	33	22	25
Lonely	32	37	33	32
(Base)	(661)	(736)	(339)	(305)

Question: I am going to read some words or phrases that might be used to describe someone's feelings about housework. After I read one, please tell me whether this describes your personal feelings fairly often, or not very often about housework.

Nevertheless, the pressure to keep the house orderly and to prepare well-balanced meals is still felt by a majority of women. In Table 19, 54 percent of the working and 67 percent of the nonworking women say they feel they must keep their house orderly all the time. Even more feel the necessity of preparing well-balanced meals.

Table 19. Home-related Attitudes, 1979

	% Agreeing		
	All Women	Working Women	Nonworking Women
Attitude			
a) I feel I must keep my house looking orderly all the time	61%	54%	67%
b) I prepare well-balanced meals most of the time	81%	73%	88%
(Base)	(1041)	(736)	(305)

While meal-related chores at home are shared to some extent by husbands, as seen in Table 20, wives (working and nonworking) are the ones who have the main responsibility for food marketing, meal preparation, and after-meal clean-up. Working wives get a little more help from husbands, especially in meal preparation, than housewives do, but the lion's share of these responsibilities are the wive's.

Table 20. Who has Main Responsibility for Food Marketing, Preparation, and Clean-Up, Married Women 1979

	Working Women				Nonworking Women			
	Self	Husband	Share	(Base)	Self	Husband	Share	(Base)
Food marketing	67%	4%	28%	(522)	64%	9%	26%	(216)
Meal preparation	75%	1%	22%	(522)	88%	1%	10%	(216)
After meal clean-up	64%	2%	28%	(522)	74%	1%	22%	(216)

In a study that derived data from daily diaries of how time was actually spent, Robinson (1977) reports the dramatic differences between working and nonworking women, and between working women and their employed husbands:

> Housewives (perform) 53.2 hours of housework per week, which is almost double the 28.1 hours for employed women. By comparison, the 11.3 hour contribution of employed men seems paltry indeed, and this total was dominated by auxiliary household care and shopping. Moreover, it hardly increases at all (even for child care) on Saturdays and Sundays, when employed men had much more time available to help around the house. Note, for example, that men performed only two more minutes of child care and six more minutes of basic housework on Saturday than on weekdays.

Housework is not an attractive part of most women's at-home roles. However, as Iglehart (1979) has noted in her study, for many women, including full-time housewives, there is still much about the women's home-related role that provides satisfaction. Giving love and nurturance to children continues to be one of their major satisfactions.

Working Women and Children

One of the most urgent concerns of working mothers is child-rearing. While husbands help in child-rearing, the primary responsibility still accrues to mothers, even though they may also be working.

A divorced, working mother struggling to support herself and her child described her conflict between child care responsibilities and her desire for the independence and equality that employment promises:

> I've been profoundly affected by having a child. I still have not accepted in my own head that I might not have another child. Intellectually in independence terms, I see it as really sort of suicide, given the cost of child care and what that would require in terms of an economic dependence on a man. It's something that I'm kind of uncomfortable with, because there doesn't seem to be any middle ground in terms of the new way and the old way. It's much easier to talk about equality when you are economically autonomous or have very autonomous roles. But that's not really possible when financially you're bound, and one person, generally the woman, has the responsibility for child care.

Concern about the welfare of children of working mothers is apparent in Table 21. To be sure, working women are less likely than nonworking women to agree that working women don't spend enough time with their children, and this concern has dropped more sharply for working women (58% to 46%) than for nonworking women (69% to 66%).

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Table 21. Percent Who Feel Working Women Don't Spend Enough Time With Their Children 1971-1979

	Working Women		Nonworking Women	
	1971	1979	1971	1979
% Agreeing				
Working women don't spend enough time with children	58%	46%	69%	65%
(Base)	(661)	(736)	(339)	(305)

However, the problem of the working mother is not seen as one that is inevitable or as one that should discourage mothers from working. Table 22 indicates that among women with a child under 18 years old, there is strong agreement that working mothers can establish a warm and secure relationship with their children. Even among women with a child under six years old, two-thirds agreed with the statement.

Table 22. Attitudes Toward Working Mothers, 1979

% Agreeing that:	Youngest child at home is:		
	under 6 yrs old	7-17 yrs old	none/none under 18 yrs old
A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work	67%	74%	59%
	(225)	(303)	(513)

Even though working women feel less guilt than previously about time spent with their children and are, for the most part, optimistic about their establishing a good relationship with their children, the difficulties for working mothers of caring for children have far from disappeared. What to do with younger children while they are at work and how to pay for the care are not problems with a uniform solution.

Seventeen percent of the working women rely on day care centers or nursery schools for help. In addition to these sources, there are a variety of other options that are also used by some women. Table 23, for example, suggests that working women with younger children use a wide variety of day care sources. Family members, paid help at home, day-care centers, and nursery schools are some of the sources of help. Some children take care of themselves, others are in school, and still others are in other situations.

Table 23. Sources In Addition to Day Care Centers and Nursery Schools Working Mothers Use for Child Care While at Work, 1979

Family members	29%
Paid help at home	18%
Child care for self	8%
Child in school	23%
Day-care center/nursery school only	5%
Other	6%
No answer	18%
(Base)	(299)

Three-fourth of the working mothers who use day-care centers or nursery schools pay for it. Fifty-three percent pay for help from family members or others. Despite both the difficulties of locating child care options and paying for them, more mothers are seeking employment outside of the home, so we have here another indication of the determination of women to expand their lives into the mainstream of the employment world.

Women with children are also far more likely than their husbands to have the main responsibility for children (Table 24), even though the majority say that husbands share in this responsibility. However, working mothers are only slightly more likely than nonworking mothers to receive help from husbands.

Table 24. Who Has Main Responsibility For Child Care? Married Women With Children, 1979

Working Women				Nonworking Women			
Self	Husband	Share	(Base)	Self	Husband	Share	(Share)
28%	2%	59%	(356)	37%	- -	54%	(140)

Some outside assistance in these child care problems is likely to be forthcoming if women have their say. We found that 61 percent of the working and 60 percent of the nonworking women approve of free day-care centers for children of all mothers. Seventy-one percent of the working women under the age of 35 said they approved.

Working women are also more likely than their nonworking counterparts to have the main responsibility for paying bills (Table 25). In families where the wife does not work, the husband is more likely to have the bill paying job, while the wife is most likely to have the responsibility in working wife households.

Table 25. Who Has Main Responsibilities for Paying Bills, Married Women 1979

Working Women				Nonworking Women			
Self	Husband	Share	(Base)	Self	Husband	Share	(Base)
46%	23%	30%	(522)	36%	40%	24%	(216)

The working woman then is not only busy with her job but has not been relieved of at-home demands to any great extent and has the added responsibility for keeping the family finances in order. The problems of taking care of children while at work are complicated by the logistics of child care and how to pay for it.

Activities

As if the demands of work and home were not enough, these working women also live a more active life of "leisure" activities. As Table 26 shows, working women in 1979 and 1971 participated more often than nonworking women in a variety of activities.

Table 26. Past Month's Activities

	1971		1979	
	Working Women	Nonworking Women	Working Women	Nonworking Women
Visiting friends' home	85%	78%	81%	78%
Restaurant for dinner	71	59	78	62
Movies or theater	46	31	40	22
Participating in sports	30	18	31	13
Going to club meetings	30	25	37	33
Attending sports events	28	19	18	10
None of these	4	12	2	4
Read a book	--	--	67	58
Discuss politics	--	--	41	39
(Base)	(661)	(339)	(736)	(305)

Question: Which of the things on this card have you done in the past month?

Furthermore, by 1979 the activity gap between working and nonworking women has widened for such activities as restaurant dining, movie and theater attendance, and sports participation. When education is taken into account, however, some differences between working and nonworking women disappear, but some remain unchanged. Visiting friends, eating out, going to theaters, participating in sports, and discussing politics are unchanged by educational considerations. On the other hand, education washes out differences on sports events attendance and gives the nonworking a slightly greater edge on club meetings and book reading.

White collar women, as Table 27 shows, are also extraordinarily involved in public activities, including voting, writing to magazine and newspaper editors, addressing public meetings, and taking an active part in local civic issues. It is clear that women who are in white collar occupations have a greater involvement than women who work at other types of jobs and those who are not employed at all.

Table 27. Involvement in Public Activities by Work Status

	Involved in one or more public activities
White collar workers	81%
Other employed	64%
Non-employed	69%

Source: Simmons Market Research Bureau, 1978-79

Vacation Travel

Working women are more likely than nonworking women to take vacations away from home (Table 28). Two-thirds of the working women in 1979, up from 60 percent in 1971, took a vacation in the past year. Fifty-seven percent of the nonworking women in 1971 took a vacation, up slightly from 53 percent in 1971. Again, the gap may be widening between working and nonworking women.

Table 28. Percentage of Women Taking a Vacation Away From Home in the Past Year

	1971		1979	
	Working Women	Nonworking Women	Working Women	Nonworking Women
% Taking a vacation in past year	60%	53%	66%	57%
	(661)	(339)	(736)	(305)

Question: Did you take a vacation away from home in the past year?

Not only do working women take more vacations, they are more likely than nonworking women to feel that a vacation is a necessity rather than a luxury. Half of the women who work and 40 percent of women at home say a yearly vacation is a necessity. Vacations as a luxury or necessity are, of course, tied to levels of family income for employed and nonemployed women. However, at every income level, except those in the $7,000 - $15,000 range, working women are more likely than nonworking women to view vacations as a necessity.

IV. CHANGING CONSUMER PATTERNS

Not only are women's view of themselves changing, their shopping patterns have undergone changes over the past eight years as well.

Shopping for Clothes

Working women may be taking more shopping trips for clothes in 1979 than 1971, as Table 29 indicates. In 1971, 28 percent of the working women reported no shopping in the past month for clothes. In 1979 that percentage dropped to 24 percent. Most of that change went toward the once-a-month category. Nonworking women are also more likely to shop now, but there was also a change in frequency of shopping: a drop in the most frequent (4 or more) category, and an increase in once-a-month and in 2-3 times a month.

Table 29. Past Month Shopping for Clothes at Stores, 1971-1979

# of times went shopping in stores	Working Women		Nonworking Women	
	1971	1979	1971	1979
4 or more	27	26	20	16
2-3	29	29	19	23
once	15	22	17	20
none	28	24	44	40
(Base)	(509)	(736)	(242)	(305)

This means that, of those who shop, working women are more likely than nonworking women to shop frequently. The most dramatic contrast, however, is in the proportions of working and nonworking women who did any shopping. In 1971 and 1979 nonworking women were far more likely than working women

to report no shopping trip for clothing in the past month. In 1979, 40 percent of the nonworking women took no shopping trip but only 24 percent of the working women failed to shop for clothes at least one.

Given the busy schedules of working women, the question arises of whether or not they are also increasingly shopping by mail or telephone. Table 30 suggests that working women are only slightly more likely than nonworking women to shop this way. However, there has been a slight increase in this kind of shopping since 1971. Clothes shopping by working and nonworking women is overwhelmingly a go-to-the-store activity.

Table 30. Past Month Clothes Shopping by Mail or Telephone

	Working Women		Nonworking Women	
	1971	1979	1971	1979
# of times shopped by mail/telephone				
1 or more	11	15	10	10
none	89	85	90	89
(Base)	(509)	(736)	(242)	(305)

Another significant change that has taken place among working women over the past eight years is that they are much more likely now than before to shop for clothing at a particular time of the day. In Table 31 we find that in 1971, 24 percent of the working women and 36 percent of the nonworking women shopped at no particular time. By 1979 only 16 percent of the working women and 20 percent of the nonworking women reported no particular shopping time.

Table 31. Time of Day for Clothes Shopping

	Working Women		Nonworking Women	
	1971	1979	1971	1979
Time of Day				
Morning	19%	17%	22%	28%
Midday (Noon-3pm)	18	19	18	17
Afternoon (3-6pm)	24	22	12	23
Evening	14	25	7	11
No Particular Time	24	16	36	20
DK/NA	1	1	5	1
(Base)	(509)	(736)	(242)	(305)

Obviously, working women's schedules force them to be more specific about a shopping time. Their work life also forces their shopping activity to evenings. In 1971, 14 percent of the working women shopped for clothes in the evening. In 1979 a quarter of all working women

shopped in the evening. These days more nonworking women take advantage of morning shopping periods than do working women.

While there are distinctive times when working and nonworking women shop for clothing, where they shop has changed little since 1971 (Table 32). Most women, employed and otherwise, last purchased a dress at a department store (about 40% in 1971 and 1979). Specialty shops were the next most likely spot for buying a dress, then came discount stores and national chains, respectively. Among working women, there has been a shift away from specialty shops and a shift toward discount stores. Mail orders were used by only one percent of working women in 1971 and 1979, and by less than one percent of nonworking women.

Table 32. Where Last Dress was Purchased

	Working Women		Nonworking Women	
	1971	1979	1971	1979
Department Stores	39%	40%	39%	39%
Discount Stores	5	10	10	10
Specialty Shops	34	28	29	30
National Chain	13	14	12	11
Mail Order	*	1	*	1
Don't Know Type of Store	9	7	10	9
(Base)	(509)	(736)	(242)	(305)

*Less than 1 percent

A similar pattern occurs for where they last purchased a coat or suit (Table 33). Only small changes have occurred during the 8 year period.

Table 33. Where Last Coat or Suit was Purchased

	Working Women		Nonworking Women	
	1971	1979	1971	1979
Department Store	41%	39%	40%	42%
Discount Store	7	10	7	8
Specialty Shop	29	29	19	22
National Chain	14	15	14	11
Mail Order	-	1	-	1
Don't Know Type of Store N/A	9	6	20	16
(Base)	(509)	(736)	(242)	(305)

Employment has an important impact on the kinds of clothes working women buy, especially among professional and managerial women. Except for manual workers, the majority of working women in 1971 and 1979 said "I have work in mind when I buy most of my clothing" (Table 34).

However, there has been a drop since 1971 in the percentage of these women who say they buy more clothes and shoes because of work. For example, in 1971, 53 percent of the professional/managerial women said they buy more clothing because of work, but by 1979, this percentage dropped to 40 percent.

The most likely explanation for this apparent contradiction is also found in Table 34. There has been a significant shift toward greater informality or greater tolerance of the kind of dress expected on the job. Among the professional/managerial women, 52 percent in 1971 and 37 percent in 1979 said "I am expected to dress well where I work."

Table 34. Work Oriented Shopping for Clothes (by Occupation)

	Professional Managerial		Clerical Sales		Manual	
	1971	1979	1971	1979	1971	1979
"I have work in mind when I buy most of my clothes"	54%	53%	55%	52%	26%	20%
"I buy more clothes because of work"	53	40	41	42	21	21
"I buy more shoes because of work"	46	32	31	26	25	20
"At work I wear a uniform or work clothes of some kind"	24	21	13	13	45	33
"I am expected to dress well where I work"	52	37	49	42	19	14
(Base)	(153)	(166)	(250)	(250)	(252)	(306)

Question: Which of the statements on this card apply to you?

This shift can also be seen among clerical/sales and manual workers, although the differences are small. Even among manual workers there has been a significant change in the proportion who wear a uniform or work clothing: from 45 percent in 1971 to 33 percent in 1979.

Food Shopping

We have already noted that wives, including working wives, have the primary responsibility in 1979 for food shopping. Sixty-seven percent of the working wives said they had the main responsibility for going to the supermarket. This is 3 percent more than nonworking women! So working or not, food shopping responsibility largely falls to women.

There are, however, some important differences between working and nonworking women in regard to their food shopping patterns. One important shift in food purchasing patterns of working and nonworking women is that working women now spend more on food than nonworking women. In 1971, as Table 35 shows, nonworking women had slightly higher grocery bills than working women. By 1979, working women were paying more for groceries in an average week.

Table 35. Money Spent on Groceries, in Food Stores & Supermarkets in an Average Week

1971	Working Women	Nonworking Women
$20 or less	30%	28%
$21 - $40	48	44
$51 - $60	17	21
Over $60	5	5
DK/NA	-	2
(Base)	(565)	(300)
1979		
$30 or less	18	24%
$31 - $50	34	32
$51 - $70	23	19
Over $70	23	18
DK/NA	2	7
(Base)	(736)	(305)

Note: The consumer price index for food and beverages was 74.3% higher in 1978

This greater spending on food by working women in 1979 is not due to the greater number of non-married or smaller households among working women. In fact, as Table 36 indicates, food spending differences between working and nonworking women are even greater when only the non-married and those with no child at home are considered.

Table 36. Money Spent in Groceries, Food Stores and Supermarkets in an Average Week, 1979

	Not Married		No Child at Home	
	Working	Nonworking	Working	Nonworking
$30 or less	30%	44%	29%	43%
$31 - $50	30	26	39	24
$51 - $70	16	8	14	16
Over $70	17	8	12	4
DK/NA	7	13	5	12
(Base)	(213)	(89)	(306)	(135)

As we would expect, there are also marked differences between working and nonworking women on the time of day they shop for food. Both are shopping increasingly at particular times (see Table 37). Working women shop for food in the late afternoon and evening, while nonworking women primarily shop before the late afternoon (especially in the morning). For both, this pattern has fluctuated little since 1971.

Table 37. Usual Time of Day for Food Shopping

	Working Women		Nonworking Women	
	1971	1979	1971	1979
Time of day				
Before Noon	24%	23%	44%	38%
Noon to 3pm	14	13	20	16
3pm - 6pm	32	28	16	18
After 6pm	20	21	9	10
No particular time	10	11	14	15
DK/NA	-	4	-	3
(Base)	(565)	(736)	(300)	(305)

Women are increasingly systematic about listing food items they need. In Table 38, 72 percent of the working women in 1979 usually had a list of items to buy before shopping, up from 67 percent in 1971. Nonworking women have become even more systematic. In 1979, 78 percent

Table 38. Usually Have a List of Some Items to Buy Before Going to the Supermarket

	Working Women		Nonworking Women	
	1971	1979	1971	1979
	67%	72%	67%	78%
(Base)	(390)	(736)	(265)	(305)

made a list, 11 percent more than in 1971.

The great majority of these women, working and otherwise, draw their lists from several sources: by checking advertising specials, checking refrigerators and shelves, and asking family members what they want.

Table 39 reports the results. About the same percentage of working and nonworking women check refrigerators and shelves (about 85%). However, nonworking women are a little more likely than working women to check advertising specials, and working women are a little more likely to check with family members regarding their food preferences.

Table 39. Activities in Preparation for Supermarket Shopping List

	Working Women		Nonworking Women	
	1971	1979	1971	1979
Check refrigerators & shelves	82%	86%	89%	84%
Check advertising for specials	75	78	81	86
Ask family what they want	66	69	52	62
(Base)	(348)	(524)	(186)	(241)

In 1979, 78 percent of the working and 86 percent of the nonworking women checked advertised specials before making their lists. In Table 40 we find that by a large percentage (about 80%), newspaper advertisements in 1979 (as well as 1971) were the place they looked for specials. Store circulars were next in importance, 30 percent for working and nonworking women in 1979. Next in importance were shoppers, television, and radio, in that order. All of the last four except radio have made sizable gains since 1971 but still lag far behind newspaper ads as a source for food specials.

Table 40. Where Most of the Ads that are Checked for Special are Found

	Working Women		Housewive	
	1971	1979	1971	1979
Newspapers	85%	80%	82%	82%
Store circulars	18	30	21	30
Shoppers	8	20	12	24
Television	1	3	-	4
Radio	1	-	1	1
(Base)	(272)	(412)	(152)	(205)

Beauty and Health Products

This report has shown in a previous chapter that employed women in 1979 like to think of themselves as feminine. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that working women use a great deal of beauty aides. In fact, as Table 41 shows, employed women, especially white collar workers are substantially more frequent users of eye makeup than women who are not employed. White collar workers also use considerable more lipstick and toothpaste than either blue collar workers or women at home. The rather small differences in household income between employed and not employed women do not account for the differences shown in the product use.

Table 41. Women's Use of Health and Beauty Products, by Employment Status

Product Used in Past Month:	White Collar	Other Employed	Not Employed
Eye Makeup	67%	51%	41%
Lipstick, Lipgloss	70%	60%	59%
Tootpaste	92%	85%	78%

Source: Simmons Market Research Bureau, 1978/1979

Life Insurance and Financial Institutional Services

The economic independence of working women is also reflect in the re-results of Table 42. Employed women, especially white collar workers, are more likely than women at home to own life insurance. White collar women are also far more likely to own securities than either other employed women or women at home, make frequent use of financial services and to have a checking account in a commercial bank. Forty percent of white collar women own securities. Ninety-one percent use one or more financial services, and one half have checking account in a commercial bank.

Table 42. Ownership of Life Insurance, Stocks and Bonds, and Use of Other Financial Services, by Employment Status

	White Collar	Other Employed	Not Employed
Own Life Insurance	74%	68%	56%
Own Stocks, Bonds, other Securities	40%	24%	27%
Use 1 or more financial services	91%	74%	75%
Have Commercial Bank Checking acc't.	55%	32%	34%

Source: Simmons Market Research Bureau, 1978/1979

Except for ownership of life insurance, the differences between blue collar women and women at home are negligible.

V WOMEN AND ADVERTISEMENTS

It is evident from the preceding section that women rely on advertising. Large percentages of them report that they look at advertisements when planning their food shopping. However, while newspapers receive some criticism, there is evidence in our study of strong distaste for the manner in which TV commercials portray women.

How Newspaper Advertisements Present Women

First, let us consider how newspaper advertisements portray women, according to our national sample of women (Table 43). Forty-six percent of the working women and 51 percent of the nonworking women say newspaper advertising presents women as they should be presented. A little over a third of the working women and nearly a quarter of other women say newspaper advertising does not portray women as they should be.

Table 43. How Newspaper Advertisements Present Women, 1979

	Working Women	Nonworking Women
Present women as they:		
Should be	46%	51%
Should not be	36	23
Don't know/NA	18	26
(Base)	(736)	(305)

Question: Thinking about the way women are presented by TV, radio, and newspapers, would you say that the way_____presents women is the way women should be presented or not?

How TV Commercials Present Women

On the other hand, TV commercials are seen by the majority of women as derogatory (Table 44). Fifty-nine percent of the working and 51 percent of the nonworking women said TV commercials present women as they should not be. Less than a third of each group say TV advertising presents them as they should be.

Table 44. How TV Commercials Present Women, 1979

	Working Women	Nonworking Women
Present women as they:		
Should be	30%	32%
Should not be	59	51
Don't know/NA	11	17
(Base)	(736)	(305)

Working women are more likely than nonworking women to say advertising depreciates women, but it is evident here that even women at home mostly dislike the image portrayed in TV commercials. One of the reasons for this reaction among nonworking women is probably that they do not like a TV commercial's presentation of women as dedicated "chief cook and bottle washer." When we consider that 78 percent of women at home who definitely plan to work in the future say TV does not present women as they should be, we get a clear view of why nonworking women also feel "put down" by TV commercials.

A mother of two children in our pilot study humorously but caustically described several TV commercials that demean women:

> A common ad is "getting your head out of the oven quicker so that you can get on with things in life". Or, "I'm just so thrilled that my house is so clean, my children can lick the floor and they won't get sick!" There is an ad where the lady says, "well, it's important that the glasses don't have spots." And the husband says, "I'm glad it's important to you."

A Tougher Test

Next we decided to give advertising credibility a stringent test by looking at how women who are highly sensitive to sex discrimination rate TV and newspaper advertisements on the way they portray women. As we might expect, there is a direct association between the level of sensitivity to sex discrimination and the credibility of advertisements' portrayal of women (Table 45). Those women who are highly sensitive to discrimination (compared to women who are less sensitive) are clearly more critical of both TV and newspaper advertising's treatment of women, but newspaper advertising is still seen as far more credible than TV advertising. Well over two-thirds of the highly sensitive women say TV commercials present women as they should not be, while 42 percent of the same women say newspaper advertising is not fair in its treatment of women. It is significant that even among women who do not feel women

are discriminated against (the "lows" in the table below), a majority (53%) say TV advertising unfairly represents women. Only 24 percent of the same group say newspaper advertising is unfair.

Table 45. Score on Sex Discrimination Scale and Percent Saying Women are Presented as They Should Not Be In:

Score on Sex Discrimination*	TV Ads	Newspaper Ads	(Base)
High	68%	42%	(112)
Moderate	54	30	(569)
Low	53	24	(358)

*A "High" score means the woman is highly sensitive to sex discrimination; a "low" score means she is relatively insensitive to sex discrimination.

Consistently, the same pattern exists among three important demographic groups: family income, education, and age. As Table 46 shows, it is those women who come from upper income and educational levels and the youngest generation that find advertising, particularly TV commercials, offensive in the way women are presented. Again newspaper advertising rates far better than TV commercials, regardless of the level of income and education, and irrespective of age.

Table 46. Percent Who Say Women Are Presented As They Should Not Be In:

	TV Ads	Newspaper Ads	(Base)
Family Income:			
$25,000 or more	64%	39%	(225)
$15,000 - $24,999	63	30	(259)
$7,000 - $14,999	47	28	(210)
Under $7,000	49	19	(152)
Education:			
Some college or more	74%	43%	(350)
H.S. graduate	51	25	(410)
Less than HS graduate	41	20	(275)
Age:			
Under 35	61%	36%	(431)
35 - 49	59	33	(300)
50 and over	46	20	(293)

Nevertheless, women look at newspaper advertisements. In the Newspaper Advertising Bureau's 1971 study ("A Million Miles of Newspapers"),78 percent (compared to 75% of men) of the women readers reported opening newspaper pages with advertisements only on the page.

VI. Women, Newspapers and Other Media

As the women's movement gains momentum, its impact is being felt by all major institutions, and the media are no exception. The most apparent effect is that working women watch considerably less television than do nonworking women. At the same time working women read newspapers more often than do nonworking women. The impact is also felt in other media areas, including what they like to read, why they read, and the credibility of what they read in newspapers.

Changing Media Consumption

First, let's look at the differences made by employment on media consumption patterns. Table 47 reports the most recent Simmons data on media use by employment status. The story revealed in these results is clear. Working women use all media except television more than women who are not employed, attributable in part to their higher educational level. Nearly three-quarters of employed women and two-thirds of the nonworking women read newspapers on an average weekday and weekend. White collar women read newspapers even more often than employed women as a whole.

Working women also read more magazines than nonworking women. Women who are employed read 5.9 magazines and women not employed read 4.4 magazines. White collar women again surpass readership levels of working women as a whole.

Table 47. Media Usage of Working & Nonworking Women

	Employed Women			
	Total	White Collar	Other Employed	Not Employed
Percent reading daily newspaper on an average weekday	72%	74%	67%	67%
Percent reading Sunday/ weekend paper on an average weekend	73%	77%	66%	65%
Average number of magazines read	5.9	6.6	4.7	4.4
TV viewing hours per week:	22.1	20.0	26.2	28.3
Daytime	4.4	3.1	6.8	7.8
Early & late fringe	4.8	4.4	5.5	6.0
Prime time	12.9	12.5	13.9	13.5
Average hours of radio listening per weekday	3.5	3.7	3.3	1.3

Source: Simmons Market Research Bureau, 1978/79.

While the differences are not as sharp, working women listen to more radio on weekdays than nonworking women. The reverse of this pattern is evident when we consider TV viewing. It is women at home who watch more TV. Nonworking women watch 28.3 hours per week and employed women watch 22.1 hours per week. The differential between working and nonworking women holds true for daytime, early/late fringe, and prime time viewing, except that blue collar working women watch slightly more prime time TV than non-working women. White collar women watch substantially less TV than other women.

Newspaper Reading Among Different Categories of Women

It is an oversimplification, of course, to assume that all working and all nonworking women are alike in their media habits. In Table 48 we have considered newspaper readership by occupational position and various demographic categories. As might be expected, employed women have different levels of newspaper readership, depending on such things as their household income, education, age, marital status, locality, and race, as well as their occupational position. Nonemployed women's readership levels differ along the same lines.

What is most striking about these data is that the greatest differences between working and nonworking women occur among those women who have tradionally been infrequent newspaper readers, those low in education, low in income, young or very old, nonmarried, nonwhite, and central city dwellers or nonmetropolitan residents. Working women in traditionally low readership categories are substantially greater newspaper readers than nonworking women in the same categories.

It should also be noted that up-scale nonworking women (higher income and education), while clearly better readers than downscale nonworking women, also have levels of readership that are either comparable to or slightly higher than their working women peers. So, just as working women are not all the same, nonworking women also differ, and in some instances read as much as working women.

Table 48. Average Weekday Daily Newspaper Readership
(Women, by occupation)

	Total Employed	Profess., Mgrl.	Clerical Sales	Other Empl.	Not Employed
By Household Income:					
$25,000 & over	80%	83%	78%	76%	81%
$20,000 - $24,999	76	74	78	75	80
$15,000 - $19,999	70	67	71	71	77
$10,000 - $14,999	70	77	71	66	69
Under $10,000	64	73**	67	61	58
By Education:					
Some college or more	75	77	75	67	76
Graduated high school	72	73	74	70	73
Some high school or less	65	88	65	64	59
By Age:					
18-34 years	65	70	65	60	57
35-49 years	77	84	80	70	73
50-64 years	79	85	83	73	76
65 years or older	81	96**	81*	75*	68
By Marital Status:					
Married	74	79	74	69	72
Single	68	73	67	64	60
Other	70	74	75	64	58
By Locality Type:					
Metropolitan central city	70	78	71	64	65
Metropolitan suburban	73	76	74	68	70
Non-metropolitan	72	75	74	68	67
Race:					
White	70	-	-	-	70
Non-white	65	-	-	-	46

Source: Simmons Market Research Bureau, 1978/79

*Projection relatively unstable because of small base. Use with caution.
**Number of cases too small for reliability. Shown for consistency only.

Why Women Read Newspapers

Because of the great variety in American newspapers, it is difficult to capture in simple terms what motivates people to read. However, we will attempt to explore some areas that seem indicative.

Given the great change taking place among women, including a greater sensitivity to sex bias in society, we might ask if the credibility of newspapers has suffered in the process. We asked our sample of women whether the way newspaper articles present women is the way they should be presented or not. We also asked the same question about TV shows.

Trust in Newspapers

In Table 49 we find a clear-cut pattern of answers to our question about newspaper articles and TV shows. Newspaper articles are believed to present women as they should be by a majority of women, working and nonworking. On the other hand, TV shows are considered by a majority of women to be unfair in the portrayal of women. For both media, working women are somewhat more critical than are nonworking women.

Table 49. Do Newspaper Articles and TV Shows Present Women the Way they Should be? 1979

	Working Women	Nonworking Women	"High" on Sex Discrimination Scale*
Newspaper Articles			
As they should be	57%	55%	47%
As they should not be	23	16	32
Don't know	19	28	21
TV Shows			
As they should be	33%	35%	31%
As they should not be	55	50	58
Don't know	11	15	12
(Base)	(736)	(305)	(112)

*Women who have strong feelings that women do not have all of the rights and opportunities that men have.

Question: Thinking about the way women are presented by TV, radio, and newspapers, would you say _____ presents women in the way women should be presented or not?

To offer a more critical test of newspaper and TV credibility, we also present in Table 49 the answers to our question by women who could be expected to be most sensitive to the way women are portrayed by these media, those women who score as highly sensitive to sex discrimination. While these highly sensitive women are more critical of both media, they mostly rate newspaper articles as fair and TV shows as unfair, as do working and nonworking women.

A theme, running through our pilot study and supported by our survey, was that women increasingly want information - lots of it - that is full and accurate, from which they can make up their own minds. Newspapers are seen as the most important source of such information, but even here women are likely to be increasingly cautious and critical. Nevertheless, newspapers will continue to be their prime source of information.

Newspapers Worthwhile for Their Own Sake

As sensitive as is the issue of how women are presented in the media, there are, of course, other reasons why women read newspapers. Certainly, one of the most important, according to the results in Table 50, is that newspapers are worthwhile for their own sake. Sixty-eight percent of working and 63 percent of nonworking women said this is a "very important" reason for reading the paper.

Table 50. Reasons for Reading Newspapers, 1979

	% Saying "Very Important"	
	Working Women	Nonworking Women
Reasons:		
It's worthwhile for its own sake	68%	63%
Conversation aid	42	46
Feel isolated without paper	33	35
Habit	30	38
Takes mind off other things	22	29
Tells about celebrities	21	23
Helps me plan day	19	15
Helps pass time	13	20
(Base)	(736)	(305)

Question: Here are some reasons people have given us for reading newspapers. Please tell me whether each of these is a very important, somewhat important, or not important reason for you personally.

While differences between working and nonworking women in newspaper reading motivations are not large, they are worth noting. Working women are slightly more likely to value the paper for its own sake and as a planning help. Nonworking women are more likely to emphasize the habitual, escapist, passive, and conversational value of newspapers.

Newspapers Help Women at Home Avoid Feelings of Isolation

One might expect that at-home women would be far more likely than working women (who are much more active in the larger, outside world) to say that they feel out of touch and isolated without the paper. While this was not the case in Table 50 there is a very definite relationship in Table 51 between feeling isolated without the paper and the extent to which nonworking women are sensitive to sex discrimination. There is little relationship between the two for working women. Among women at home, 53 percent of those highly sensitive to discrimination rated as "very important" the statement that if they did not have the paper, they felt isolated and out of touch. By contrast, 34 percent of moderate and low sensitivity women said this was "very important". What these data seem to suggest is that for women at home who are likely to be supportive of the women's movement's goals, the newspaper serves a very important function in helping these women feel connected to the larger world. The newspaper helps them avoid the isolation of being at home most of the time. Working women apparently have other ways to be in touch, so this is a less important concern for them.

Table 51. Sensitivitity of Sex Discrimination & Feeling Isolated Without Newspapers, 1979

		Don't Have Paper, Feel Isolated			
	Sex Discrimination	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important	(Base)
Working Women	High	30%	22%	47%	(85)
	Moderate	31	25	42	(413)
	Low	36	17	43	(236)
Nonworking Women	High	53%	20%	19%	(27)
	Moderate	34	24	38	(156)
	Low	34	25	38	(122)

Newspaper as a Medium for Men and Women

Most women feel that newspaper content is equitably pitched to both men and women. Over three-quarters of working and nonworking women said that the last paper they read had about the same amount in it for women as for men (Table 52). Only 14 percent of the working women and 12 percent of the nonworking women said newspaper has more in it for men. Clearly, newspapers are not seen by women as a man's medium.

If newspapers are seen as appealing to both men and women, to what kinds of women is the content directed? We asked our sample of women:

Table 52. Last Newspaper Read Had More for Women or Men? 1979

	Working Women	Nonworking Women
More for women	5%	1%
More for men	14	12
About the same amount	76	77
Don't know	6	9
(Base)	(736)	(305)

Question: Would you say there's more in the last paper you read for women, more in it for men, or about the same for both men and women?

"Would you say there's more in that newspaper (last newspaper read) for women like yourself, or for some other kinds of women?" While a rather large number of women hold no opinion on that subject, working women were more likely to say "women like myself" than nonworking women (Table 53).

Table 53. More in Newspaper for Women Like Yourself or Others? 1979

	Working Women	Nonworking Women
More in it for:		
Women like myself	43%	33%
Other kinds of women	34	33
No opinion	23	34
(Base)	(736)	(305)

Women who are well educated or married are also more likely to view the paper as having content for women like themselves (Table 54). While the better educated and married women are an important newspaper market, it is a little startling to discover that so few uneducated and single women feel that newspapers are for "women like myself."

Table 54. More in Newspaper for Women Like Myself, by Education, and Marital Status

	% Who Say Newspaper Have More In It for Women Like Myself	
Education:		
Less than H.S. grad.	24%	(275)
H.S. grad.	40	(410)
Some college or more	50	(350)
Marital Status:		
Married	42	(738)
Not married	30	(302)

Probing further for some clues to this problem, we asked those women who said newspapers have more for "other kinds of women" just what kinds of other women they had in mind. The responses of the single women were different from their counterparts in one important way. Twenty-eight percent of these unmarried women (but only 8% of the married women) said papers have more for housewives or stay-at-home women. Of those nonworking women who said the paper had more in it for other kinds of women, 43 percent said it was more for working or career-

minded women. It turns out that most of the women dissatisfied in this way are either those with very young children or those with no children at home, that is, the younger and older women. Among these two small groups, over 50 percent feel the paper has more for working or career minded women while among all the other nonworking women dissatisfied with the paper, only 17 percent feel the paper has more for working or career women. So, a simple solution of how newspapers can appeal more to the women who feel left out is not apparent.

Most Women Like Newspapers' Writing Style

Happily for newspapers, most women, regardless of demographic or social category, said that their newspaper's writing style was about right for them. Table 55 presents the answers for working and nonworking women. Eighty-six percent of the working women and 79 percent of the non-

Table 55. Writing Style in Last Paper Read Too Complicated, Simple or About Right? 1979

Newspaper Writing Style	Working Women	Nonworking Women
About right	86%	79%
Too complicated	3	6
Too simple	8	6
No opinion	3	9
(Base)	(736)	(305)

Question: In general, would you say that the writing style in the last newspaper you read is about right for you, that it's too complicated, or that it's too simple to hold your interest?

working women said newspaper writing styles were "about right." It is content, not writing style, that presents the greater challenge for newspapers. will now consider this important area in more detail.

What Women Look For In Newspapers

While describing the changes taking place among women, it has been suggested that women are expanding their roles and outlook on the world. No longer do their interests focus primarily on home and neighborhood.

International/National vs. Local Interests

This same shift is apparent when newspaper content interests are considered. In our 1979 survey, we asked if they were more interested in what was happening in their own city or town, or the national/international scene. For both working and nonworking women interest was more concentrated on the local scene (Table 56). But working women are a little more interested in international events and nonworking women are more interested in local events.

Table 56. Interest in National/International Versus Local Events, 1979

	Working Women	Nonworking Women
Much more interested in national or international	16%	14%
Slightly more interested national or international	21	18
Slightly more interested in my own city or town	36	30
Much more interested in my own city or town	24	33
No opinion	3	5
(Base)	(736)	(305)

Since such interests are usually related to levels of education, Table 57 compares working and nonworking women, holding education constant. The interesting finding here is that the greatest difference between working and nonworking women is among the less educated. Working women who have low levels of education have greater interest in national/international events than their nonworking peers who are much more interested in local events (43% vs. 29%). Differences among employed and nonemployed women with better educations are less clear-cut.

Table 57. Interest in National/International Versus Local Events, By Education, 1979

Interest:	Working Women			Nonworking Women		
	Less Than H.S. Grad.	H.S. Grad.	Some College or More	Less Than H.S. Grad.	H.S. Grad	Some College or More
Much more interested in national or int'l	15%	14%	18%	9%	13%	23%
Slightly more interested in national or int'l	15	17	26	11	23	23
Slightly more interested in my own city or town	38	37	35	29	28	32
Much more interested in my own city or town	29	28	18	43	34	14
No opinion	3	4	2	7	2	7
(Base)	(148)	(308)	(277)	(127)	(102)	(73)

Other Newspaper Content

Differences in working and nonworking women's newspaper reading interests were also found in an earlier NAB study (1978) that used a more direct approach to content. In that study respondents were asked to look at randomly selected articles from their newspaper and indicate their level of interest. Both the differences and the similarities between working and nonworking women are revealing (Table 58).

Even though working women are generally more interested than nonworking women in all the items, only small differences separate the two on the following items: consumer safety, accidents and disasters, health, home and garden, energy crisis, welfare, taxes, weather, food and national political actions. One of the most important observations to make about these results is that there is not only a broad range of subjects on which interest levels are similar but that working women have slightly more interest in traditional women's subjects (food, home and garden) than nonworking women do.

Although not listed among the items of greatest interest in Table 58 fashion and marriage, birth and "society" items have about equal interest for working and nonworking women. Sixty two percent of the working and 60 percent of the nonworking women were interested in fashion. Forty-eight percent of the working and 46 percent of the nonworking women were interested in marriage, birth and "society" items.

Differences between working and nonworking women are also important to note in Table 58. Working women were substantially more likely than nonworking women to rate the following items as interesting: military-

Table 58. Newspaper Items of Greatest Interest to Women, 1977

	Percent Interested			
	Working Women	(Base)*	Nonworking Women	(Base)
Newspaper Items:				
Missiles, Nuclear Arms, Military	83%	(29)	61%	(55)
Consumer Safety	77	(70)	74	(104)
Letters to Editor	77	(65)	66	(128)
Health	76	(154)	71	(242)
Social Problems	76	(134)	68	(224)
Home & Garden	75	(32)	73	(64)
Energy Crisis	74	(75)	69	(110)
Environment	73	(181)	62	(269)
Weather	73	(199)	69	(259)
Race, Minorities	72	(55)	59	(80)
Advice	72	(115)	64	(167)
Welfare	72	(65)	73	(102)
Accidents, Disasters	72	(204)	76	(307)
Taxes	71	(89)	66	(148)
Science & Inventions	70	(85)	64	(115)
Food	70	(85)	68	(164)
U.S. National, Political Government Actions	70	(374)	66	(564)

*The number of newspaper items in the category

Source: Unpublished tabulation from an NAB survey, 1977; see "How the Public Gets Its News."

related items, letters to the editor, environment, race and minorities, and advice. Nonworking women, on the other hand, rated only one item (accidents, disasters) as more interesting, but even in this instance, the difference was only 4 percent.

Newspaper readership differences between working and nonworking women, as we have already noted, are most apparent at the lower educational levels. So it is with interest in newspaper content as well (Table 59). In this table, we considered only women who did not graduate from high school. On the left of this table are those items that low education working women found substantially more interesting (at least 8% difference) and on the right are the items low educated nonworking women found substantially more interesting.

The first thing that strikes one about these two lists is the sheer difference in the number of items listed. Working women show more interest in a wider range of topics. The second observation is that working women (remember that these are low education women) are more interested than nonworking women in what might be called serious and sophisticated items: consumer safety, health, letters to the editor, armaments, wars and rebellions, environment, minorities, business, and cultural reviews. Nonworking women are more interested than working women in crime-related items, cost of living, home and garden, entertainers and Hollywood, radio and TV logs, and for some inexplicable reasons, science. So the impact of employment on down-scale women not only increases their frequency of readership but their appetites for a wide variety of items, not the least of which are the more sophisticated topics.

Table 59. Newspaper Items for Which There Are Substantial Interest Differences Between Working and Nonworking Women With Less Than H.S. Education, 1978

Working Women Have Greater Interest In:	Nonworking Women Have Greater Interest In:
Consumer Safety	Crime
Accidents, Disaster	Hijackings, Hostages
Health	Economics, Prices
Letters to the Editor	Science
Armaments	Home, Garden
Wars, Rebellions	Entertainers, Hollywood
Environment	Radio and TV Logs
Race, Minorities	
Welfare	
Farm, Agriculture	
Business	
Sports	
Weather	
Food	
Women	
Cultural Reviews	
Obituaries	

Source: Unpublished tabulation from an NAB survey, 1977; see "How the Public gets its News"

In our 1979 survey, we asked our sample of women if the newspaper they usually read carried about the right amount of news on seventeen topics or not, and if not, would they like to see more or less on these subjects. Table 60 reports the percentage of working women, nonworking women, and women highly sensitive to sex discrimination who wanted more in their papers on the various topics.

Once again both similarities and differences between working and nonworking women are evident. Working women seem to want more of everything. They generally are more likely than nonworking women to want more space in newspapers, regardless of topics. As one might expect, working women were substantially more prone to want more attention given to career planning, women's rights, and advice on human relations on the job. One might not expect, except for our previous hints, that working women also want markedly more space for so-called traditional female interests: beauty hints, weddings, births, and deaths, and fashion. Working and nonworking women have about equal interest in more space for home furnishing and decorating, and ideas for meals.

What is even more surprising is that women who are most sensitive to sex discrimination were substantially more likely than working women as a whole or nonworking women as a whole to want more newspaper attention given to beauty hints, everyday fashion, home furnishing and decorating, and ideas for everyday meals. The commonly held view that the so-called "new woman" no longer has traditionally feminine concerns about her personal attractiveness, home decor, and meals must be revised in light of this study evidence.

Table 60. Percent of Women Who Want More in Their Newspapers on Seventeen Topics, 1979

Newspaper Topic	Working Women	Nonworking Women	Women "High" on Sex Discrimination Scale
Advice on Personal Finance	37%	36%	49%
Career Planning	36%	25%	60%
Advice on Children	36%	32%	50%
Car Care	36%	30%	40%
Weddings/Births/Deaths	34%	26%	9%
Beauty Hints	33%	26%	34%
Everyday Fashion	33%	21%	38%
Women's Rights News	32%	22%	47%
High Fashion	31%	15%	12%
Entertainment Guide	31%	30%	25%
National Business/Econ. News	29%	26%	31%
Home Furnishing/Decorating	25%	21%	36%
Restaurant Reviews	25%	23%	30%
Ideas for Everyday Meals	23%	23%	35%
Local Business News	23%	18%	42%
Ideas for Gourmet Meals	22%	20%	14%
Advice on Job Human Relations	21%	15%	48%
(Base)	(736)	(305)	(112)

Question: Now, here's something a little different. I'd like to ask you to play a little game. Newspapers carry a lot of things besides news of local national and world events. Just suppose you were the editor of a newspaper, so that you could have a paper tailor-made to your own interests. I'm going to give you a list of some of the things many newspapers carry. I'd like you to look over this list and record how much space you would give to each item using the following categories -- a lot of space, some space, a little space or no space.

Indeed, those women who are sensitive to sex discrimination are more likely than working or nonworking women as a whole to want more newspaper attention given to all topics except weddings, births, and deaths, high fashion, entertainment guides, and ideas for gourmet meals. There seems to be a very practical aspect to these "new women's" attitudes. The newspaper content that they seem most in need of deals with personal finances, advice and help. They also want more on everyday fashion and meals, but are less interested in high fashion and gourmet meals.

Are Newspapers Offering the Content Women Want?

Women, especially working women, seem to want more in their papers. How are newspapers responding? From what we have seen so far in this report, newspapers must be doing many things right, given women's disproportionate attention to and positive view of newspapers. Yet, as we see in Table 61, the actual space allocated to two-thirds of the topical content of greatest interest to women has declined between 1971 and 1977. This suggests that newspapers have not fully reflected the increasingly sophisticated and worldly interests of women, especially working women, particularly in government and domestic content, the area that reveals the sharpest drop, from 6.9 percent of the newspaper content in 1971 to 3.5 percent in 1977.

Table 61. Editorial Content of Newspapers in Areas of Most Interest to Women 1971 - 1977

	% of Newspaper Content given to:	
	1971	1977
Letters to Editor	0.6%	0.7%
Public Health, Welfare	2.4	2.8
Social Problems	2.1	1.6
Home & Garden & Food	1.5	1.3
Environment	1.6	1.7
Weather	1.1	1.7
Racial News, Minorities	1.2	0.6
Advice	3.1	1.7
Accidents, Disasters	2.4	1.9
Taxes	1.0	0.9
Science, Inventions	1.0	0.7
U.S. Gov't., Domestic	6.9	3.5

Source: NAB Study: "Two Dimensions of News," January, 1978

A total of 21 percent of the newspaper content in 1977 was oriented to men (sports, business). Only 3 percent was devoted to traditional women's interests (food, home, garden, fashion, and society news).

Newspapers can also expect greater competition from magazines for the working women market. Both news and women-related magazines appear to be either holding their own or increasing their appeal among working women. According to the 1978/1979 Simmons survey, Time magazine's audience included disproportionately more employed women, 10 percent more than the actual percentage of employement women in the sample. Furthermore, this 10 percent was greater than the 7 percent overrepresentation of employed women readers in the 1970 Simmons survey. Newsweek is holding its own with working women, and U.S. News and World report has increased its appeal to employed women since 1970.

Women-related magazines, including those previously considered to be for the traditional at-home women, have increased the proportion of employed women in their audiences beyond the increase in over-all percentage of women entering the labor force. McCalls', Ladies Home Journal, Family Circle and Woman's Day have also made gains. Then, of course, there is the new breed of women-related magazines such as Ms. that reach mostly working women (76% of the female audience in 1978/1979 was employed).

While magazines have promotional techniques to increase magazine sales, some efforts have also been made to reach more working women through changes in magazine content, even among magazines that traditionally attempted to reach primarily women at home.

Women, especially working women, will probably be an increasingly tough audience for any media to reach for several reasons. They are busy people with multiple roles at home and away from home. They are becoming better educated, more worldly and more demanding and critical On the other hand, newspapers have several things already going for them, as we have just seen. Women especially working women, read newspapers, like editorial variety, accept newspapers as a medium for both sexes, and probably find the portability and accessibility of newspapers consistent with their lifestyles. Nevertheless, to maintain and to expand newspapers' reach to working women, newspapers should consider at least three important questions: (1) Does newspaper space allocation accurately reflect contemporary reader interests, both men and women (2) Do topical areas or sections deal with information and issues that are responsive to changing values, interests and problems of women? (3) Are stories written in a manner that minimizes masculine assumptions and subtle stereotypical views of women?

In attempting to answer these questions, it is important to remember, as Table 62 demonstrates, that an overwhelming proportion of the items typically found in newspapers are reported to be "very interesting" by relatively equal percentages of men and women. Only a few traditional women-related areas were more likely to be considered "very interesting" by women than men. Men were more likely than women to find articles on sports and labor-related issues "very interesting." But even in these latter instances, the gender differences are not extremely large (17% was the largest difference). Another Readership

Table 62. Newspaper Items on Which There Were Little Differences (Less Than 8%) Between Men and Women (% "Very Interested")

Accidents, Disasters, Natural Phenomena

Advice Columns

Business, Economics, Prices, Finance, Money

Comics

Consumer Safety

Cultural Events (Not Reviews)

Economics (U.S. National Political or Government)

Editorial Cartoons

Editorials

Education and School News, Child Rearing

Energy Problems, Crisis Program

Entertainers, Hollywood News & Items

Environment, Pollution, Natural Resources, Population Problems

Farm, Agriculture

General Local News

Hijacking, Hostages

International News

Letters to the Editor

Missiles, Nuclear Armaments, Non-Nuclear Armaments, Nuclear 'Talks' Armed Forces (Other Than in a Shooting War)

News in Brief

Political Columns

Puzzles, Horoscopes etc.

Race, Minorities, Civil Rights

Radio - TV Logs

Religion

Science

Social Problems

State & Local Political & Government Actions

Travel & Transportation

U.S. National Political or Government Wars, Rebellions, Sporadic Or Organized Shootings

Weather

Welfare

Other Non-Local Human/General Interest News

All Other News

Table 62 (Cont'd). Newspaper Items That Are More Interesting ("Very Interested") To Women Than Men

Cultural Reviews

Fashion

Food

Health

Home & Garden Centered

Marriages, Births, Society, Social Activities

Women

Newspaper Items That Are More Interesting ("Very Interested")To Men Than Women

Sports

Labor & Wages

Project stud ("The Personal Newspaper," July, 1978) also found striking similarities between men and women with respect to how space in a tailor-made newspaper would be allocated among thirty-four different topics. Therefore, the most formidable problem facing newspaper editors may not be how to juggle the limited space in the newshole or even the selection of topical areas of interest. The most difficult problem is likely to be what specific issues and information to include under the topical categories and how to write and position those articles in a way that does not offend a growing number of women who are sensitive to the way in which women are treated.

Home Delivery of Newspapers

How do the busy lives of working women affect the preference for home delivery of newspapers. Our 1979 study shows that working women are just as likely as nonworking women to get home delivery (Table 63). Nearly two-thirds of working and nonworking women report that they receive the newspaper through home delivery.

Table 63. Home Delivery of Newspaper, 1979

	Working Women	Nonworking Women
Get Home Delivery	65%	64%
(Base)	(736)	(305)

For both working and nonworking women the probability that they will get home delivery greatly increases with age, education, and income. Table 64 reveals the consistency with which this occurs for all women. It is likely that as women gain more education and add to the family income, home delivery of newspapers can be expected to increase, not decline.

Table 64. Home Delivery of Newspaper by Age, Education, & Income: 1979

	Get Home Delivery	(Base)
Age:		
Under 30	55%	(431)
35-49	65%	(300)
50 & over	75%	(293)
Education:		
Less than H.S. grad.	55%	(275)
H.S. grad.	65%	(410)
Some college or more	73%	(172)
Family Income:		
Under $7,000	39%	(152)
$7,000 - $14,999	53%	(210)
$15,000 - $24,999	63%	(259)
$25,000 or more	82%	(225)

Women can also be expected to play an increasingly important role in decisions about newspaper home delivery. While differences are not

large in Table 65 the data show that working women may be less likely than nonworking women to leave the decision up to husbands.

However, the most important finding here is that decisions about home delivery are generally shared by spouses in households with working or nonworking wives. This suggests once again that newspapers are important to both sexes and are not just for men.

Table 65. Who Has the Main Responsibility for Home Delivery of Newspapers, Married Women, 1979

	Working Women	Nonworking Women
Self	20%	19%
Husband	12%	17%
Both	60%	57%
Other	1%	2%
No Opinion	7%	5%
(Base)	(736)	(305)

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Sex Discrimination Scale

Three questions form the basis for this scale:

1. In general do you think it is true or false that a woman who stays home a lot wastes too much of her life?

2. In general do you think it is true or false that women have fewer advantages and privileges than men do in this country?

3. How strongly do you agree or disagree that being a women has prevented me from doing some of the things I had hoped to do in life?

Each response category was weighted according to the degree of agreement with the statements. If, for example, a woman felt that questions 1 and 2 were true and she strongly agreed with question 3, she would be classified as "high" on the Sex Discrimination Scale, meaning that she was highly sensitive to the lack of women's rights and opportunities. The lower the score, the more of the statements the respondent agreed with.

Scores could range from 3 to 11 and were categorized as follows:

High = scores 3 - 5

Moderate = scores 6 - 8

Low = scores 9 - 11

APPENDIX B

Images of "A Full-Time Housewife" and "A Working Woman"

"A Full-Time Housewife"	As Described By Working Women		Nonworking Women	
	1971	1979	1971	1979
Feminine	46%	41%	44%	43%
Tense	34	36	31	29
Likes Shopping for Clothes	36	31	37	26
Taken Advantage of	31	45	24	24
Well-Organized	41	38	45	43
Dull	28	37	17	21
Has a Full Life	52	33	63	45
Big Spender	8	8	10	5
Admired and Respected	47	31	53	38
Overworked	39	42	35	38
Self-Reliant	*	25	*	35
None of These	2	3	2	3
No Answer	1	1	1	1
(Base)	(661)	(736)	(339)	(305)

"A Working Woman"	As Described By			
	Working Women		Nonworking Women	
	1971	1979	1971	1979
Feminine	47%	47%	37%	34%
Tense	33	26	37	33
Likes Shopping for Clothes	53	44	52	43
Taken Advantage of	14	17	14	13
Well-Organized	65	65	57	52
Dull	3	2	6	4
Has a Full Life	71	66	57	51
Big Spender	16	12	24	16
Admired and Respected	56	51	42	40
Overworked	30	29	41	32
Self-Reliant	*	76	*	62
None of These	-	1	2	4
No Answer	-	-	2	1
(Base)	(661)	(736)	(339)	(305)

*Not asked in 1971

METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

The following tables are provided for the readers who is interested in obtaining a quick estimate either of the stability of a given percentage or of the singificance of the difference between two percentages.

Confidence Intervals for a Given Percentage
(at the 95% confidence level)

N (Base for %)	Reported Percentage 10 or 90%	20 or 80%	30 or 70%	40 or 60%	50%
500	2.6	3.5	4.0	4.3	4.4
250	3.7	5.0	5.7	6.1	6.2
200	4.2	5.5	6.3	6.8	6.9
150	4.8	6.4	7.3	7.8	8.0
100	5.9	7.8	9.0	9.6	9.8
50	8.3	11.1	12.7	13.6	13.9
25	11.8	15.7	18.0	19.2	19.6

Example: If a report shows that 20% of all respondents (when N = 500) answer in a particular way, the chances are about 95 out of 100 that the true value is 20% + or 3.5%, that is, that the range 16.5% - 23.5% contains the true value.

Significance of Differences Between Percentages
(95% confidence level)

Average of the Bases of Percentages Being Compared	Average of Reported Percentages 10 or 90%	20 or 30%	30 or 70%	40 or 60%	50%
500	3.7	4.9	5.7	6.1	6.2
250	5.2	7.1	8.1	8.6	8.8
200	5.9	7.8	8.9	9.6	9.8
150	6.8	9.1	10.3	11.0	11.3
100	8.3	11.0	12.7	13.6	13.9
50	11.7	15.7	18.0	19.2	19.7
25	16.7	22.2	25.5	27.2	27.7

Example: A report shows that 33% of all respondents from 30 to 39 years of age use a certain product and that only 27% of all respondents in the 40-to-49 age group use that product. Could this difference be due to chance?

In this example assume an average base of 500 for the represented percentages. The average of the percentages (33 + 27) equals 30% and the differences between the percentages is 6%.2

Since 6% is greater than 5.7 (the figure in the table for this base and percentage) the chances are about 95 out of 100 that the product is used more by the 30-39 age group.

The table values are based on an assumption of simple random sampling. The figures may be too large if a stratified sampling technique was used and probably are too small if a cluster sampling technique was utilized. (For formulas used, see Q. McNemar, Psychological Statistics, pages 54, 60.) The second table should be used with extreme caution if the bases being averaged are very different.